1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

PREFACE

THE study of comparative jurisprudence is a branch of American anthropology which holds great promise for future development. A field which, for a variety of reasons, has for long remained but slightly tilled, there still is much of significance to be extracted from its fertile soil. In this day, when questions as to the nature and function of governmental and legal institutions are of plaguing importance, anything that anthropology can offer in the way of factual enlightenment should be of value. This study of Comanche Law-ways is one offering to that end.

The investigation of the Comanches upon which this study rests had its inception in 1933 when the Ethnology Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology, directed by Professor Ralph Linton, put in an intensive summer's work with the Comanches of Oklahoma. I am deeply grateful to the Laboratory, which made such an invaluable experience possible. The introduction to field work under Professor Linton's guidance opened the door to an understanding of the skill and art which successful field work requires. For that, above all, but also for permission to utilize all the materials of the group which are pertinent to this monograph, I am in debt to Professor Linton. Companions in the field whose contributions are in part incorporated in this memoir were Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett and Waldo R. Wedel. To them thanks not only for the anthropology which is theirs, but also for the good fellowship of that summer. F. Gore Hoebel participated in the field work and has been with this study from start to finish. I salute her! Karl N. Llewellyn, Betts Professor of Jurisprudence, Columbia Law School, has had an incalculable influence in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Three days before departure for the Comanche field I received a simple note. "I understand you are interested in American Indian Law," it read. "So am I. Could I talk to you?" Out of that has grown a stimulating association of the sort that is one of life's rare pleasures.

Dr. Jeannette Mirsky pursued an independent field study of the Comanche in the summer of 1935. She has graciously allowed me to draw from her notes.

The results of the Comanche study encouraged us to seek further information on the development of Comanche institutions among the related Shoshones. This was done with the aid of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. They financed a field investigation of the Ft. Hall Shoshones in Idaho during the following summer. This work was undertaken by F. Gore Hoebel and myself. The purpose was to investi-

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imponderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given. ooo

It was the goal of the Laboratory group to cover all phases of Comanche culture in its investigations. That that goal was not encompassed must be expected. Limits of time and circumstance produce inevitable shortcomings. For the first portion of the field session, the seven members of the group worked as a single unit in obtaining orientation in the culture and field technique. Later we spread to work with different informants, each investigator focussing his efforts on a particular phase of the culture. Regular exchange of material and discussion of results kept the work correlated. Such unified effort by a number of workers overcomes to a large degree the hampering limitations imposed by time and, as a result, did bring us closer to our goal.

The method of inquiry was to put pump-priming questions to the informant, who was encouraged to expound to the limit of his knowledge on all subjects where it appeared that he had knowledge to impart. Questions which would evoke a categorical answer were avoided so far as possible. When it came to seeking materials on "law," the questions which I put were designed for the most part to probe into dispute situations, since most law is concerned with definition of conflict of interests. Due to the paucity of published information on the Comanches, preconceptions of what to expect were ruled out. For purposes of classification and analysis a working hypothesis as to what is to be meant by "law" was worked out after the field study had been finished. The formulation of that hypothesis is included in this memoir so that it may be exposed to full criticism.

The data used in this work are of course all secondary. Comanche culture as here recorded has been defunct for fifty years and more. That a certain amount of error exists in data recorded so long after the fact is inevitable. In mitigation, however, it must be remembered that the illiterate Indian keeps a better vocal record than we are accustomed to do. The effort was made to check all cases against each other through independent informants. When contradictions appeared the cases were checked still further until a least common denominator seemed found. Most of the cases presented in the text are presented as given by the interpreter. We did our best to train interpreters to translate literally. Those cases given in quotes are presented as recorded (except for slight literary editing), while those cases given without benefit of quotes are paraphrased to obtain condensation.

The cooperation of the old Comanches who were approached for aid in making this study of their aboriginal culture was most gratifying. With a marked historical sense and a nostalgic pride in their old way of life, they

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ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR GOVERNMENTAL ROLE

MILITARY SOCIETIES

Professor Lowie in seeking for germinal sources of the state other than the kinship factor has given a new importance to the study of associations. The warriors of many Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting *Verbindungen* variously identified as clubs, associations, societies and bands. In Professor Lowie's book, *The Origin of the State*, it is demonstrated for several peoples how associations of various types may take on governmental functions and powers, thus giving form to the state idea. He has made it impossible for the modern student of the primitive state or pre-state to overlook associations, whether as governmental agencies or pressure groups.

Two paragraphs sum up Lowie's exposition.

> With amazing uniformity as to detail the police functions just described have been recorded for a dozen and more tribes and for a period of two hundred years. Personnel of the constabulary varies with the tribe; the duties may be linked with a particular society (Mandan, Hidatsa), or be assumed by various military societies in turn (Crow), or fall to the lot of distinguished men without reference to associational affiliations (Kansas). But everywhere the basic idea is that during the hunt a group is vested with the power forcibly to prevent premature attacks on the herd and to punish offenders by corporal punishment, by confiscation of the game illegally secured, by destruction of their property generally, and in extreme cases by killing them.[1]
>
> In other words, for the brief period of the hunt the unchallenged supremacy of the police unified the entire population and created a state "towering immeasurably above single individuals," but which disappeared again as rapidly as it had come into being.[2]

In a recent article (1936) appearing in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST I raised the question of the probability of more permanent state-like activities accruing from the power of associations as discussed by Professor Lowie.[3] There I showed from case histories taken from the Cheyennes that for that tribe, at least, the military societies had become an ever-ready arm of the state functioning on many occasions aside from the exigencies of the buffalo hunt. Where the Cheyenne go beyond the practices described by

[1] R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927), p. 103.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 104.

[3] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, 1936), pp. 433–438. Additional Cheyenne data acquired on a subsequent field trip provide an even more effective demonstration of this point. They will appear in the author's forthcoming discussion of Cheyenne Law-ways. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *Law-ways and the Cheyenne Indians* (in press).

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701 Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

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701 Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yep Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

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619 A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsueka*); *Yupe, Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

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chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed.

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches.

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu-

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

INTRODUCTION

By Walter Prescott Webb

This small book contains the account of the most exciting and adventurous years of Nelson Lee. It was published in 1859, when Sam Houston was governor of Texas, just before Lincoln was elected, when practically the whole American West was still the abode of what Richard Irving Dodge so appropriately called "Our Wild Indians." The adventures which justified Lee in writing the book began when he arrived in Texas in 1840 and ended eighteen years later when he escaped from the Comanche Indians and returned by way of Texas and Havana to his native state of New York, where he arrived on November 10, 1858.

His recollections of this eighteen-year period must have been hot in his memory. He began to tell his tale, and the tale he told convinced his hearers that he was speaking the truth. The world then, as now, had in it those vicarious adventurers who are willing to collect, edit, and publish accounts of hazardous living which they lack the daring to risk. Nelson Lee could talk, but he could not write. The unknown editor says: "The narrative has been recorded, as received from his lips, from day to day, not precisely in his own words, inasmuch as he is not an educated, though an intelligent man, but his history is told substantially as he relates it." Two reasons are given for the literary ven-

[p. vi has no textual material]

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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● 114 ture: Nelson Lee had returned in poverty, "stripped of all he possessed"; and many white people, mainly women, remained in Indian captivity, from which Lee had just escaped. The publicity might at one stroke recoup Nelson Lee's finances and lead to the ransom of the captives. Behind these good reasons was the real one, the simple fact that this scarred-up mariner of the western plains had a story to tell.

The remarkable speed with which the story was put in print intrigues us. Lee says he "arrived in the United States" on November 10, 1858. The preface by the unknown editor bears the date January 1, 1859, the year of the copyright date. This means that the manuscript was completed within less than sixty days after the wanderer landed.

The story falls into two parts. The first part covers the period from 1840 to 1855, the fifteen years that Lee spent in Texas. This long span is treated in eight chapters—really in seven, because the first chapter deals with his early life and gets him to Texas in 1840, at the age of thirty-three. His life there would have justified a book in itself because this man hunted out the places of excitement and put himself in the midst of it repeatedly. He claims to have joined the Texas Rangers under Ewen Cameron, to have been with Ben McCulloch to warn the settlers after the Comanche raid on Linnville in 1840, and to have been present at the Battle of Plum Creek where the Comanches were defeated and the plunder from Linnville was recovered. He went on the Mier Expedition, but fled when the Texans surrendered, swam the Río Grande, and made his way back to San Antonio. In connection with this fiasco, he made his only political comment. He thought President Sam Houston designed the failure of the Mier Expedition and shows himself to have been anti-Houston.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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Introduction

There is little doubt that he served with Ben McCulloch, Jack Hays, and Samuel H. Walker, all famous Texas Rangers. He joined up for the Santa Fé Expedition, but had to give that up on account of illness. He served in Hays' regiment of Texas Rangers for the duration of the Mexican War. In the quiet periods he engaged in Indian fighting and became a trader in horses and cattle.

There is no better description of the life of the Texas Rangers than that given by Nelson Lee. He is sparing of dates and shy of first names of commanders and persons with whom he was not closely associated, but in most instances he convinces the reader that he was there.

The second part of the story is told in seven chapters. It covers a period of three years, from March, 1855, to November, 1858. Lee and six other men formed a "joint company" to drive a herd of horses to California. They hired sixteen American drovers and three Mexican horse breakers, gathered a herd of 395 horses, and set out from San Patricio for California by way of El Paso. Lee gives the full names of each of these men, of whom he was the only survivor. The party crossed the Río Grande, "passing to the left of the river towns." On April 2, the Comanches attacked in the night and killed or captured the entire party. Later they killed all the captives except Nelson Lee, who saved himself by the use of an alarm watch which fascinated the superstitious Indians, particularly the chief. Lee, along with the watch, was subsequently traded to two other chiefs for fabulous quantities of horses and buffalo hides.

It is his account of life among the Indians that makes this book of unique value. The story he tells is absorbing, but the information he conveys about how the Comanches lived before they were affected by the white man is in-

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

● valuable. As an example, he tells how the Indians made a captive safe for the night. They made him lie down on his back with arms and legs outstretched. Each arm and leg was tied with buffalo thongs to stakes so that none could be moved. Two stakes were driven in the ground on either side of his neck, and these were connected with a thong that fit tight across the throat.

Lee finally managed to escape, and, after incredible hardship, made his way into the Mexican settlements and finally back to his own people. It is probable, though not certain, that he spent the years of his captivity in the western part of Mexico.

The little book of 224 pages is now extremely scarce, much sought after by libraries and collectors. Its reprint in the Western Frontier Library will be welcomed by all lovers of such characters as Cabeza de Vaca, Huckleberry Finn, and the Ancient Mariner. They all had this in common: Each made a hard journey and returned home to tell about it.

[pp. xi-xvi, 1-87 not processed]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Preface

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THE Comanches were one of the great tribes of the American West. For a century and a half they successfully defended the High Plains and prairie country south of the Arkansas River against all intruders, both red and white. Their superb nomadic horsemanship, their dauntless military prowess, enabled them to guard well the vast, semiarid land they had won and claimed as their own. They made life unsafe for their enemies who dared to live near the periphery of the Comanchería.

Throughout the Southwest their name has become a synonym for wildness, fierceness, and savagery. They stopped the Spanish expansion from south and west. They blocked French plans for trade and held up the Anglo-American advance for half a century. The effect of the Comanche conflict upon the life and history of the Southwest was significant and dramatic.

Yet, for a variety of reasons, the story of the Comanches and their way of life has remained unwritten. No attempt at a comprehensive anthropological study of this people was made until they were visited by the 1933 Ethnological Field Study Group of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology. Subsequently, they were further studied by Miss Jeannette Mirsky in 1935 and again in 1940 by a group of linguistic specialists from the Department of Anthropology under the direction of Professor George Herzog.

In the notes and records of nineteenth-century military men, government agents, travelers and captive whites are many scattered pieces of information on the Comanches, yet they have not been previously drawn together.

Professor R. N. Richardson has published an excellent account of the historical relations of the Comanches in their conflicts with the whites throughout the nineteenth century in his book, *The Comanche*

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Barrier to South Plains Settlement. His work, however, makes no serious attempt to describe and analyze their society and culture or to tell their whole story.

Anthropologists have written a few limited and specialized accounts of several aspects of the Comanche way of life, but no more than the historian have they attempted to round out the picture.

The writing of this book was undertaken to present in a single piece the salient facts of Comanche history and culture in a way that will satisfy the interests and curiosity of the general reader and also the anthropologist and the historian. This means that although we have endeavored to hold fast to the highest canons of historical and scientific accuracy, we definitely have not undertaken to write an ethnographic monograph. We have striven to give meaning to the story of the Comanches, but we have avoided inclusion of the kind of technical discussion that interests only the professional social scientist. Such considerations are best left for presentation in the professional journals.

Our sources, as will become evident in the reading of this book, exist in direct field work among the Comanches on the part of both authors, in published and unpublished data recorded by other scientific investigators, and in published and unpublished historical documents.

Ernest Wallace did most of the archival research and in the summer of 1945 interviewed a number of Comanches. E. Adamson Hoebel did field work among the Comanches as a member of The Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology party in 1933. Professor Ralph Linton of Yale University, as director of the Santa Fé Laboratory project, has given us generous permission to draw on all the field notes of this expedition. They contain much information on the Comanches that has been hitherto unpublished. Professor Linton's keen insight in Comanche culture has furnished us with many valuable leads that have made our work much easier and greatly enhanced its significance.

Although in earlier days the Comanches were thought to be recalcitrant and unfriendly to whites, we have enjoyed nothing but happy relations with them. They are good friends and co-operative collaborators. They evinced a strong sense of the historical values of our studies. It was their urgent desire that the record of their story

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Preface

and their ways should be true and adequate. They want their children and grandchildren to be able to read this book when they are gone. The memories of the old ways are to survive in print.

The chief informants used by Mr. Wallace were Wiley Yellowfish, *Pakawa* (Kills Something), John *Padoponi* (See How Deep the Water Is), *Pohawe* (Medicine Woman), and *Tawaka*. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data in question were recorded from them by him in the summer of 1945.

The chief informants used by the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group were Post Oak Jim, *Nayia* (Slope), *Tasuta* (That's It), *Quasia* (Eagle Tail Feather), *Tɛnəβɜkə* (Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man), Frank *Chikoβa* (Breaks Something), *Nɜmɜtuiβɛtsə* (She Invites Her Relatives), *Hɜkiyani* (Carrying Her Sunshade), George *Kɔwino*, and Howard White Wolf. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data were recorded from them by Mr. Hoebel or by other members of the Laboratory of Anthropology group in 1933.

The Reverend Robert Chaat served as interpreter and informant for Mr. Wallace in his work. Mr. Herman *Asenap* (Greyfoot) and Mr. Norton *Tekwitchi* (Skinny and Wrinkled) were the indispensable interpreters and go-betweens for the Laboratory field party.

We are also indebted to many other persons who aided one or the other of the authors in their work. Among these are Professors Walter Prescott Webb and J. G. McAllister of the University of Texas, Mr. Martin Taylor and Mr. Max Penrod, educators to the Comanches, Professor R. N. Richardson of Hardin-Simmons University, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Holden, Mr. O. A. Kinchen, and Mrs. Ida Vernon of Texas Technological College, and Mrs. Ernesteen Barton. A fond salute is given to the members of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology Comanche field party: Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett, Waldo R. Wedel, and F. Gore Hoebel (an ex-officio member). Mr. Joseph Casagrande generously made the manuscript of his unpublished dissertation on "Linguistic Accommodation to Acculturation in Comanche" available to us.

Illustrations and materials to be used in illustration for this book were kindly provided by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the United States National Museum, the Denver Art Museum, the University of Texas Anthropological Museum, and Texas Technological

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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one-quarter of the whole number have more or less of captive blood" (1898, p. 235). In 1927 Wissler tabulated 62.9 per cent of the Comanches as full-blood. It is the opinion of the writer that at present (1931) at most 10 per cent of the adults can with any assurance be considered full-blood. The Comanches themselves fully realize their almost total miscegenation.

The tribe had been subdivided into bands, the more important being Penateka, Yapa, Kwahadi, Kotsoteka, and Tanema. The first two in particular wandered south into Texas in early times, the other groups remaining north about the Arkansas River in Kansas. In the present investigation measurements were obtained on members of each of the mentioned bands, as well as on a few individuals of the Noyika band. The latter name apparently does not appear in the literature. However, Dr. Ralph Linton, of the University of Wisconsin, who recently did ethnological work among the Comanches, was kind enough to inform the writer that he too came across members of a Noyika division; he also remarks on the almost total elimination of the full-blood. The writer has not attempted to make anthropometric comparison between the various bands because of the totally inadequate numbers. Moreover, intermarriage appears to have been always indiscriminate with respect to band. At present distinction as to band seems largely lost, only the older people apparently remembering their old band affiliations.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

Although the Comanches have always been fairly numerous (7000 in 1690)[4] and an important factor in the history of the southern plains and Texas, little is reported on them ethnologically[5] and even less physically. Catlin (1842, p. 66)

[4] Mooney, J., The aboriginal population of America north of Mexico. Smiths. Misc. Coll., LXXX, no. 7, p. 13, 1928.

[5] For the linguistic classification and the history of the Comanches, see, in addition, Clark, W. P. (1885, article Comanche); Bur. Am. Ethnol. Bull. 30, ('07, '10, articles Comanche and Shoshonean); Kroeber ('06–'07, p. 97). For fuller titles see bibliography.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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speaks of the 'Comances' as "in stature rather low, and in person often approaching to corpulency." Richardson (1829, p. 61) quotes Marcy's description of the Comanches in 1854 as men "about medium stature, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline nose, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but little beard." Finally, Boas (1895) reports stature for seventy-four and cephalic index for twenty-nine Comanche males measured by his students at the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893. Except for additional casual statements about their appearance, nothing else on the physical status of the Comanches, to the writer's knowledge, has appeared in print.

PRESENT STUDY

The present study comprises thirty-five full- and probably full-blood males, twenty-five full-blood females, and twenty-five mixed bloods. The numbers are regrettably small, but mixture of blood is so prevalent that little better was possible under the circumstances. Virtually every town and surrounding environs where Comanches lived—Lawton, Cache, Fletcher, Walters, Mt. Scott—was visited in the search for full-bloods. By full-blood the writer means a person with no other blood than that of his tribe as far back as he can remember, and as far as other, older, members of the tribe recall; this criterion must agree with the physical diagnosis based on character of hair, color of eyes and hair, Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, general appearance, etc. All reasonable precautions were taken in the present study to insure accuracy of judgment.

The number of virtually certain full-bloods, nineteen males and twenty-five females, although small, is believed to be a typical group. Data are therefore given in some detail, more so since the full-blood is rapidly becoming totally eliminated and other information is meager.

A number of the subjects examined appeared full-blood, yet for one reason or another, the diagnosis could not be as certain as desirable. These subjects were designated as 'prob-

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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SOME NOTES ON USES OF PLANTS BY THE COMANCHE INDIANS

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University of Cincinnati
and
VOLNEY H. JONES
University of Michigan

●114 THE notes on which this paper is based were gathered chiefly by Mr. Carlson during the summer of 1933, while a fellow of the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, New Mexico, and a member of a field group of that institution led by Dr. Ralph Linton. The research was made on the Comanche Indian Reservation near Indiahoma, Comanche County, Oklahoma, as a small part of a general ethnographic study of the Comanche. The briefness of the expedition and the broadness of the general investigation did not permit much time to be spent on ethnobotany. It is realized that this paper does not by any means exhaust the subject of Comanche plant uses, and it was hoped that further field work might be done. As this has not been possible and as the publication of the bulk of the report of the expedition may be delayed, it seems advisable to publish these notes at this time.[1]

[115] 124 An educated Comanche informant-interpreter, Herman Asenap, assisted materially in contacting the older non-English-speaking members of the tribe and was of invaluable aid in acquiring and interpreting information. Whenever possible a specimen of the plant to be identified was gathered in the presence of the informant, but when this was not practical as complete a description as possible was obtained. Suggestions concerning the identity of a number of these plants have been made with some assurance from descriptions, 000 common names, and manner of use. The specimens which were

[1] Thanks are here expressed to the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, to Dr. Linton, and to members of the party for permission to publish these data.

[pp 1-516 not processed]

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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114 The specimens which were collected have been deposited in the Ethnobotanical Laboratory of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (catalog numbers 14398–14450).

Mr. Carlson is responsible for the field notes, native terms, and phonetics. Dr. Waldo R. Wedel coöperated with him in the collection of the field data. The identification of the plants, documentation, and comparative data are primarily by Mr. Jones. Some assistance in identifications was received from Dr. J. H. Ehlers and Mr. Alfred F. Whiting.

824 121 177 Profitable investigations of aboriginal uses of plants are practically impossible among many Indian tribes because of their removal to reservations away from their native habitats or because of long contact with the white man and almost complete assimilation of his culture. This is not true of the Comanche, for although probably originally a northern Plains tribe they are now located in the same general region in which they were found by the first white explorers in the area (19, pp. 59–60), and, although they have been in fairly close contact with the white man for over a hundred years, their conversion to "civilization" has not been of such completeness or of such long standing that all their recollections of old times have been lost. The average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe.

824 121 This Comanche knowledge of useful plants and the fact that our list, although not extensive, could be compiled in a very short time would seem to argue against the prevalent opinion that the typical Plains tribes depended but little on them. While we are quite willing to concede that the Comanche were primarily hunters and that they relied largely on game for food, clothing, and the satisfaction of other wants, our data seem to indicate that this side of their life may have been overemphasized and their dependence on plants neglected. We feel that with additional field work the present list of Comanche economic flora could be readily amplified, and, further, that the ethnobotanical approach would be a profitable one among various other Plains tribes. Gilmore's monograph on the uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri River region (7) demonstrates the great importance of plants in the lives of these sedentary agricultural tribes of the prairies.

114 Such data as exist concerning the ethnobotany of the tribes of

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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the plains proper have been gathered chiefly as incidental parts of larger ethnographic studies, are generally meager, and are widely scattered. Two notable lists of plants used by Indians of the northern Plains are those of Grinnell for the Cheyenne (9) and McClintock for the Blackfoot (13). For the tribes of the southern Plains there is almost nothing available.[2] It is to assist in filling this hiatus in southern Plains ethnobotany that this paper is offered.

The data have been tabulated in order to present the material in compact form and to provide a convenient listing of plants by scientific name, common name, Comanche name, or by use (Table I). In the discussion the plants are arranged according to function, i.e. nutritive, medicinal, technological, and the like. Whenever convenient, identical or similar uses of the same or related plants by other tribes are pointed out. A small amount of data on Comanche uses of plants is drawn from other sources. We are grateful to Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel for permission to include some of his unpublished notes on plant names and plant uses of the Shoshone Indians, collected among the northern Shoshone of the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, in 1934.

The phonetic alphabet employed in recording the Comanche plant names is that of the International Phonetic Association. Since this alphabet is in common use and should be readily available to the reader it is not reproduced here.[3] We are further grateful to Dr. Hoebel for assistance in checking the phonetics of plant names.

Wissler (26, pp. 218–219) lists among the chief traits of the typical Plains tribes "the dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the very limited use of roots and berries." Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 102) state that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanche "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies." Our data seem to indicate that rather full use was made of the available flora. Many fruits and berries were eaten and must have offered a welcome variation to the monotony of the meat diet. Nuts, starchy roots, bulbs, and various other plant parts were also utilized. Some of these offered only fresh seasonal food, and others

[2] Since this paper was written a monograph by P. A. Vestal and R. E. Schultes has appeared in which over a hundred Kiowa economic plants are discussed (*The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians as It Relates to the History of the Tribe*, Botanical Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, 110 p.).

[3] For a slightly modified form of this alphabet see Bloomfield (2, p. 547).

[Text continues on p. 526.—Analyst]

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

they stressed the fact that the Comanche did not use a Sun Dance image while the Kiowa did.

The material on which the preceding report is based was collected by the Ethnological Field Party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fé, New Mexico, while working with the Comanche during the summer of 1933.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON, WISCONSIN

[pp 429-end, not processed]

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable 468 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun 796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

668 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short- 182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere- 535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had 796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior, 792 Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

113 [1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp. 1-300 not processed]

10: Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

so grossly sunk in the darkness of heathenism, as is the one of which the account is here closed, should be so exact in the observation of customs so strikingly analogous to the letter of the Mosaic ritual? Are these strange people some of the posterity of fathers who once worshipped at the Jewish altar? and when shall the light of the Gospel illuminate the pathway of their return? Saviour of the human race, hasten the blessed day!

HERMITAGE, GREENE COUNTY, ILL.
JUNE, 1839

NOTICE [40]

Since the notice of the forthcoming of the above publication appeared in the city papers, it has been suggested by some, that it may have been gotten up from sinister motives, and that it is not founded on facts, and with reference to which, the writer would say, that Mrs. Horn was brought from Santa Fé under the immediate care of Messrs. Workman and Rowland, who, it is presumed, are well known to respectable merchants in this city, and elsewhere, as Santa Fé traders. Mrs. Horn was placed by Mr. Workman in the family of his brother, in New Franklin when she first came to the States, as her book says, and she still remains there. Many other names might be given, but those referred to are above suspicion.

[40] This "notice" appeared on the upper half of the rear wrapper of the original edition.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of clitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

* This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was prepared as a single long paper. The data on which this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. A vocabulary of about 2500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chalahtah, an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwihtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic informant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University whose financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

[p. 140-A]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

WILLIAM A. SMALLEY
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA[1]

0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that there are rhythm patterns which are arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

THE JARED SITE: A COMANCHE BURIAL AT FORT SILL, OKLAHOMA

by

J. Brantley Jackson

128 **ABSTRACT**

A late 19th century ravine burial from Southwest Oklahoma is described. The site is compared with historic and anthropological records to document a nineteenth century Comanche burial practice.

INTRODUCTION

122 In November 1969, the Institute of the Great Plains (then the Museum of the Great Plains) and the U. S. Army Museum at Fort Sill sponsored the excavation of an historic burial on the
122 military reservation. Hallett H. Hammett,
114 Director of Research at the Institute, provided all equipment and materials and contributed substantially to the excavation and interpretation of
114 the site. Since I was in the Army at the time, I represented the U. S. Army Museum at the request of the director of the Museum, Gillett Griswold. We were aided by James Marler, retired Assistant Director of the U. S. Army Museum, and by Dr. Clyde C. Snow, Chief of the Physical Anthropology Section at the Federal Aviation Administration's Civil Areomedical Institute in Oklahoma City, who examined the skeletal material and who has kindly allowed me to incorporate his findings in this report. Chris Wagner contributed the art work.

121 The burial offers an unusual opportunity for archaeological documentation of one form of mortuary practice of the Southern Plains tribes. Although numerous other forms of burials -- cave, open field, crevice -- have been documented, there has previously been no archaeological validation of ravine burials reported in 19th century literature and recent anthropological treatises. It is hoped that the addition of archaeological evidence to reported findings may help make further identification of similar practices in this area more precise.

[p. 316-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

THE SITE

172 The Jared Site (34CM221) is located in the
131 bottom of a deep ravine about one-half mile west-northwest of the summit of Medicine Bluff Number Four at 98° 25' 31" west and 34° 41'
172 18" north (Fig. 1). The ravine is a branch of a small unnamed intermittent stream that empties into Medicine Creek. Erosion has cut through clay soils into fine conglomerate bedrock, leaving many boulders and gravel in the bed and sides of the ravine. The area is a highly dissected upland now covered with oaks, cacti, and short grasses.

The grave was located in the bed of the ravine against the south bank in a triangular area framed by three large boulders. The body was covered with large flat stones, probably gathered from the immediate area. When we first saw the burial, soil that had long ago slumped from the bank was covering most of the stones. Immediately above the skeleton and among the stones was soil
[114] that had been deposited by the stream. Erosion had recently exposed a portion of the skull, leading to its discovery by an alert zoology student, Jon Nickles.

126 Before excavating, we set up a mapping
172 station and two datum points in an east-west line on the south bank. All finds were triangulated from these points. We then exposed and mapped the stones covering the grave (Fig. 2). The stones were removed, and the area was troweled and brushed. Everything was left *in situ* until the entire site was open to view (Fig. 3).

172 With the possible excention of the removal of large stones, there had been no preparation of the grave site. A black rubber-coated cloth, probably part of a poncho or light tarpaulin, had been spread out and the body laid upon it with the right side down, head to the west, facing south. The hands had been placed in front of the

[p. 316-B]

172 (F) In a near upright position in front (south) of the skeleton was a one-gallon galvanized pail 18 cm. high (Fig. 4). The diameter of the base is 17.5 cm., and the diameter of the mouth is 20.86 cm. The side seam is lapped and folded; the edge of the bottom overlaps the outer surface of the sides and is soldered to them. The attachments for the bail are secured by two iron rivets each. The bail is iron wire 6 mm. in diameter. The lip of the bucket is formed by rolling the top of the sides outward and crimping it over an iron wire; the resultant lip is 5 mm. thick.

The pail seems to predate forms common in the 1880's. In pictures and specimens that I have seen from the 1880's the bail attachment and the bottom are already quite different - the ends of the bail are looped around a hoop at the top of opposite sides of the pails. The bottoms are inset and the edges are bent around the lower edge of the sides, in the same manner as modern galvanized pails (compare with Fig. 4).

Conclusions: The beads and bracelets have a long history in the Southern Plains. The pail, vulcanized cloth, and stirrups probably date from the latter half of the 19th century. It is not presently possible to assign a more specific date to these items.

ETHNOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

127 *Tribal identification:* Specific information on burial practices of the Southern Plains tribes is
●014 rare. Reports by travelers, captives, and soldiers do offer some data; but they are often inconsistent, conflicting, and probably incorrect. Therefore, only those reports that describe interments similar to the situation encountered at the Jared site will be used for comparison.

171 It is well known that tribes in the Plains disposed of their dead in a number of ways.
764 There is nothing in which the Plains Indian varies so much as in the respect paid to the dead, in the care and management of the body, and in greater or less elaboration of the funeral services (Dodge 1882:155).

If the people were busy when a death occurred, the following account might apply:

> The body of a chief who dies in other than the winter season is generally deposited in a cave; that of a common warrior in any convenient hole or ravine, a few handsful of earth, or sometimes only grass or leaves, being thrown over them. Women and female chil-

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way . . . (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information -- he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position . . . The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although 764 a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches 171 rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952). 101 The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine 114 (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and western limits several powerful Indian tribes of whom the Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eighteenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded as *Comancheria*, and for more than a century few there were, either red men or white, who intruded against their will.

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever existed between them and any of their white neighbors. Seldom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Comanche to visit a white settlement except to war and plunder. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche society are rare and meager.

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche : 06
Texas

"A series of letters originally addressed to Col. John Jamison, deceased, late Indian agent at Natchitoches." The first letter is headed "Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818." This was almost two years before Stephen Long crossed *Comancheria*, and more than two years were yet to elapse before Moses Austin sought permission of the Spanish authorities at San Antonio to settle Anglo-American colonists in Texas. The fifth letter was a reply to criticism of the article by the world-renowned naturalist and professor at Transylvania University, C. S. Rafinesque. Ranfinesque wrote in the June 19, 1824, issue of the *Literary Gazette*: "I have been much pleased with the accounts of the Comanches and Nabijos, . . . but regret that the writers have totally neglected to notice the languages of those nations, although this ought to claim the first attention in any account of Indian nations, being often the only clue to trace their origin and history. It is also wrong to give anonymous detaiis of historical facts, while so much depends upon personal authority." Most of the reply to the criticism is of no significance; but one section is herein reproduced, since it is "A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language." The author of the account—David Gouverneur Burnet of Cincinnati, later to serve as the first president of the Republic of Texas—wrote from personal experiences of more than a year's residence among the Comanche Indians in Texas.

David Gouverneur Burnet was born on April 4, 1788, in Newark, New Jersey. The Burnet family was quite prominent. David's father was a noted physician and a member of the Continental Congress. One of his half-brothers was aide-de-camp to Washington and a close friend of Lafayette; another served as a member of the United States Senate, as an Ohio State Supreme Court Judge, and was elected a member of the French Academy of Science. His brother, Isaac, for twelve years was mayor of Cincinnati.[1]

Left an orphan at the age of three, David grew up under the guidance of his brothers, who saw that he received

1. Dorothy I. [illegible]ne Fields, "David Gouverneur Burnet," in The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LIX (October, 1945), pp. 218-232.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2]

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1873, p. 169.
3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1853), I, p. 129; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 132-3.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

114 and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he
124 wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone
126 have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

114 Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

113 The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

175 [*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

[121] Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule, is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, p. 229.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-19) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO(
Texas

(ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

25: Canonge L-5 (1948) 1957 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VOICELESS VOWELS IN COMANCHE

ELLIOTT D. CANONGE
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

0. Introduction
1. Contrast in identical environment
2. Contrast in analogous environment
3. Pre- and/or post-syllabic vocoids
4. Rigg's interpretation B

194
121

0. To date, several published articles on Comanche[1] have postulated phonemic voiceless vowels in syllabic position. In spite of these reports, however, the phonemic interpretation of such vocoids as voiceless vowels is still considered an improbability by some scholars. In order to allay the general doubt expressed by Jakobson, for example, in the first printing of his 'Preliminaries', as to the existence of phonemic voiceless vowels in any language, I supplied him with tapes containing such sounds. In his second printing, he added spectrograms[2] illustrative of the difference between Comanche /i/ and /I/ occurring on these tapes but in spite of the contrast therein, which can readily be seen by inspection, he retained his scepticism as to their phonemic inter-

[113]

[1] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Linguistic Acculturation: I, IJAL 20.140 (1954); Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949); Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229 (1949); William A. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297 (1953).

[114]

My own analytical research on this particular feature in Comanche has continued intermittently since 1948, when the data were presented to a seminar of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[115]

Numerous informants have been used, chief of whom is Mrs. Emily Riddles, Walters, Oklahoma, whose patience has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Kenneth L. Pike for numerous leads and practical suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

[113]

[2] Roman Jakobson, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, Acoustics Laboratory, MIT, Report no. 13, (1952), Second Printing, 52, Fig. 12.

[p. 63-A]

194 wahcI *this is my rib* versus 'ʔicaʔnīʔnakI *this is my ear.*

It may be noted here, furthermore, that there is frequently morpho-phonemic alternation between a pre-consonantal /h/ and a post-consonantal voiceless vowel preceding certain suffixes. Compare the stem alternants 'pohpi- and 'popI- before the suffix -tuʔI *future tense* and -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* in the illustrations 'pohpituʔInīʔ *I am going to jump* and 'popIcinīʔ'miaruʔI *having jumped, I will go.*

The contrast /a/, /A/ is extremely rare due to the low frequency of occurrence of /A/ and its frequent morpho-phonemic alternation with /I/. Whereas the analogies 'pohpi-, 'popI-; 'coʔme-, 'coʔmE-; 'ʔuhtu-, 'ʔutU- preceding -ki, -kʷa and other morphemes are common, the analogy 'tihka-, *'tikA- would be erroneous. Rather, the second form would be 'tikI-. However, preceding -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* and ci, a syllable in the stem 'niʔaci- *to advise*, a valid contrast can be observed, e.g. 'miʔAcinīʔ'tihkaruʔI *having gone, I will eat* versus ʔu'niʔaciki'uʔ *he came to advise him.*

128 The preceding illustrations have given crucial contrastive data for each of the six vowel pairs. The following miscellaneous sets of forms supplement those given above and the phonemicization postulated in reference to them.

194 In the first set of examples, the contrast between /i/, /I/ occurs following stops and preceding the identical morpheme -nīī *plural*, e.g. 'papinīī *heads*, 'nakInīī *ears*, 194 'tiBoowapInīī *teachers*, 'toʔInīī *pipes*. Note that it was a pair of this type which Jakob- ●114 son used for his spectrographic analysis: 'tirīʔaiwapInīī *hired hands* and 'tipinīī 114 *stones*. At the time the tape was sent to him, the minimal pairs quoted above had not been discovered and none occur in the data of Riggs and Smalley. Nevertheless, the earlier data of contrast in analogous (non-conditioning) environment appeared to all

[p.65-A]

of us conclusive even before the newer minimal pairs had been discovered and which have been included above.

In a specialized verb compound composed of noun plus verb, /i/, /I/ contrast preceding juncture in the set 'papiwĩ̈katĩnĩ? *I have a headache* compared with 'nakIwĩnĨkatĩnĩ? *I have an earache.*

As the first syllable of a two syllable stem, the contrast /i/, /I/ may occur in stem syllables *not* contiguous to another morpheme following, as in the set 'tĩk^{w}ɨsukitĩ?u? *he is whipping (something)* compared with ?u'kĩk^{w}Iya?etĩ?u? *he habitually tastes it.* Here, the stem in the second instance is -k^{w}Iya- so that the unvoicing is not a product in this instance of a change at morpheme boundaries. Possible conditioning by the morpheme kĩ- *use of mouth or teeth* preceding, can be discounted by 'kĩ?ok^{w}etĩ?-u? *he is slobbering*, in which the vowel in the syllable following kĩ- is voiced, i.e. /o/.

Though the morphemes -kĩ *benefactive* and -ki *movement toward* differ morphologically, in the following set they present a phonologically nonconditioning environment in which to contrast /e/, /E/, e.g. ?u'-wĩhtok^{w}ekitĩ?u? *he is killing for her* versus ?urii'wĩhtok^{w}Ekitĩ?u? *he is killing them and coming on.*

The next sets of illustrations show contrast between /ĩ/ and /Ĩ/. They can be observed, for example, preceding -ka *stative* and -?e *habitual* in ?u'karĩkĩ?etĩ?u? *she habitually cooks it* compared with ?u'karĩkĨ-katĩ?u? *she is cooking it.* Note also the occurrence of voiced /ĩ/ preceding -ru?I *future tense* compared with the voiceless phoneme /Ĩ/ within a complex verb stem, as in the constructions 'pitĩru?I?u? *he will arrive* and 'patĨrĩyaai?u? *he drowned.* Preceding the dependent clause clitic -ku *dependent action being performed by secondary subject* and -ka, a like clitic denoting *completed dependent action*, a similar contrast is noted, e.g. ?uhka?u'karĩkĩkuma?'mi?a?I *as she was boiling that, he went* versus ?uhka?u'karĩkĨkama?'mi?a?I *when he boiled that, he went.*

[p. 65-B]

25: Canonge L=5 (1948) 1957 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

194 rounded voiceless vocoid to an unrounded voiceless vocoid but with the total slur appearing to take no more time than another voiceless continuant consonant such as /s/. Thus, the illustration given here could be written phonetically in some such way as ['noOIi-], but without the implication of an additional mora of length. In this position also, there are no contrasting vocoid sequences such as *aOa, *aIa, *aUa.

Other characteristics have been observed which differentiate between phonemic voiceless vowels and phonetic voiceless vocoids interpreted as /h/. Voiceless vowel phonemes occur in open syllables only, as seen in 'kupIta? *a light*, 'pukukIni *a stable*, 'nanUsa? *a chain*, whereas /h/ occurs contiguous to a voiced syllabic, opening or closing the syllable. In general, voiceless vowels maintain a full mora of length, though there often seem to be perceptible differences of length in reference to the different voiceless vowels occurring. Thus, /I/ of 'puhakIni *a church* appears to be
194 shorter than /I/ of 'kupIta? *a light*. The
195 mora value of /h/, on the other hand, may vary considerably, not in accordance with its vocoidal timbre, but under various conditions of stress, deliberation, speed of speech, style, etc. Thus, /h/ in 'wihnu *then* ranges from a sharp vocoid [I] in slow deliberate utterance to mere breathiness of almost no mora value in more rapid speech.
194 Voiceless vowels never occur in syllables preceded by pause or in stressed syllables. /h/ may occur in either, e.g. 'huuhpI *tree*.

194 4. Riggs[4] has stated a preference for her
●114 Analysis B in which consonant clusters
121 resulting from post-syllabic h plus consonant are treated as unit phonemes, choosing to eliminate hc clusters at the price of nine new phonemes (or eleven phonemes, since hn and hy, not listed in her paper, also exist). To be consistent, one would also have to postulate a series of pre-glottalized con-

[4] Riggs, op. cit.

[p.67-A]

194 sonants for ?s, ?m, ?y, etc., which would
114 reduce the number of consonant clusters to
121 zero but would produce thirteen more new phonemes. All possible combinations of ? followed by a consonant occur except ??.

It is not economical to introduce twenty-three new phonemes into a system in order to eliminate two well-balanced types of consonant clusters, e.g. ?c and hc. In both clusters, the first element is a glottal consonant, namely a stop and a fricative.

[195] Such an analysis, furthermore, disregards the perceptible division between syllables which occurs even in rapid speech, and, in exaggerated slowdown, informants show no tendency to treat hc as a close-knit unit but, rather, introduce a sharp break between the h and the consonant following. It is by no means impossible to assume that a single phoneme can be ambi-syllabic. Numerous such instances may be found but, as between alternate analyses, that one is to be preferred which interprets phonemes as mono-syllabic, other things being equal.

The interpretation of hc as a single phoneme results in needless grammatical complication. For example, the utterance translated *just nothing* may occur with alternate nonsignificant word order, e.g. 'nah'kehenA or 'kehena'nah. Under Rigg's Analysis B, in which hk constitutes a single phoneme, the allomorph of the morpheme meaning *just* is 'nah (three segmental phonemes) in the second citation but in the first instance, the alternate is 'na plus a feature (pre-aspiration) of the following phoneme. If, on the other hand, the alternant is assumed to be 'na (without pre-aspiration) in the first example, then 'kehena *nothing* of the second utterance has an alternant ʰ'kehenA in the first. The total distribution of 'na and ʰ'kehenA is the strict limitation of their occurrence contiguous to each other. Considering hc as a consonant cluster, however, would eliminate all such allomorphic problems and greatly simplify the analysis of the grammatical structure.

[p 67-B]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

DERMATOGLYPHICS IN COMANCHE INDIANS[1]

HAROLD CUMMINS[2] AND MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN

This note reports an analysis of the palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints in seventy-nine North American Indians (Comanches, in Oklahoma). Beginning with Wilder's pioneer contribution, 1904, there has been sufficient investigation of racial variation in dermatoglyphics to demonstrate the existence of distinctive racial trends in these features. There is not yet available, however, an adequate body of comparative data for broad discussion of racial resemblances and differences. The present report is accordingly treated simply as a record of findings in the Comanche sample, to provide the detailed data necessary for future racial comparisons. In view of this purpose, neither a review of the field nor a full bibliography is considered essential.[3] It may be pointed out that little work has been done with the dermatoglyphics of North American Indians. Downey (Types of dextrality among North American Indians, Jour. Exp. Psychol., vol. 10, 1927) records finger-print data for fifty Arapahoes. Cummins presented before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, in March, 1932, an account of findings (palmar and plantar features) in twenty-seven Shoshonis and Arapahoes.

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to secure the data here reported. We are further indebted to the authorities of the Indian School at Lawton, Oklahoma, for their invaluable cooperation in providing access to subjects.

[2] Department of Anatomy, Tulane University.

[3] For bibliography see especially: Bonnevie, K., J. Genet., XV, 1924; Bonnevie, K., Z. indukt. Abst- & Vererbungsl., LIX, 1931; Cummins, H., Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XV, 1930; Midlo, C., and H. Cummins, ibid., XVI, 1931.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

[7] Yнforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175
551
701
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[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[37] Number of Tents.

First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[38] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.

Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[39] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20

Second

Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange [40]of the group Yupe	50
	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6

Third led by Tosacondata

Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[37] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[38] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[39] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[40] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NOo Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

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KIOWA AND COMANCHE: A REPORT FROM THE FIELD

Jerrold E. Levy*
University of Chicago

Contact and Rapport

C K 123 Physical Factors. The difficulties of the first few months have become routine. Our principal informants let us know which dances and meetings they think we "should" attend as well as those they believe will be of exceptional interest to us (giveaways, etc.). We have come to sense the pace of the lives (for the principal informants) and know which days they are most likely to be at home. The less frequently visited informants still pose problems but the earlier frustrations have gone. C K 122 It was an exceptionally hot summer, and now it is an exceptionally cold and stormy winter. Our suspicion is that the weather will continue to be "exceptional" and difficult. The panel truck has proven itself to be an excellent all purpose vehicle. It negotiates muddy roads and rough terrain in general and with the back fixed up with a writing table and camping equipment it serves as a portable field station. Its pushing abilities are well liked by the informants in bad weather. The disadvantage of course is the rapid depreciation. For what they are worth I have the following observations on cars in this terrain; most automatic transmission cars are difficult on muddy roads and icy paved roads. The Volkswagon is excellent on these roads and is an economy car as well with a good resale value. But a traveling family is a bit cramped in it.

C K 124 Rapport. One important lesson has been learned which necessitates a correction in the first report. Once a respected and reliable informant is found, believe what he tells you. It is usually true even though it sounds fantastic. In the last report I mentioned that

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C K 114

/page 40 continued/

Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger generation could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Peyote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Foreword

About the Series

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These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students in the social sciences insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of a way of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

114

David E. Jones received his B.A. in anthropology from the University of North Carolina in 1966, and his M.A. from the University of Oklahoma in 1968. At present he is completing his doctoral dissertation for the University of Oklahoma under a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship.

The field research upon which this book is based was accomplished over a three-year period beginning in 1967. During the first year of fieldwork, the author was employed by the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project, American Indian Institute, University of Oklahoma. Much of the taped and transcribed interview material utilized in the compilation of this book is at present in the files of the Oral History Project at the University of Oklahoma.

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Mr. Jones has published several articles on the ethnopharmacopeia of the Comanche Indians.

About the Book

As the author writes, this case study is an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, Comanche medicine woman. With an abundance of firsthand accounts and on the scene observations, the author assists the reader in understanding the complex role of a Comanche Eagle doctor. Jones attempts to describe every aspect of Sanapia's role, including detailed accounts of her ritual behavior, her attitude toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society.

121

The study is special in that Sanapia is the last surviving Comanche Eagle

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Introduction

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC IMMORTALITY of the Comanches rests almost exclusively on the data obtained and published by the members of the 1933 Ethnological Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology. Several members of this group, notably Ralph Linton and E. Adamson Hoebel, have produced valuable contributions to the knowledge and understanding of Comanche culture. The institution of the Comanche traditional doctor, however, was only superficially recorded by the members of the Santa Fe group and even less satisfactorily recorded in earlier and less rigorous accounts of the Comanches. It is because of the paucity of material in this area and because of a unique set of circumstances which enabled me to achieve an unusually close rapport with the only traditional Medicine woman now functioning in Comanche society that I attempted to fill some of the aforementioned void with an intensive study of this doctor.

This study will be an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, Comanche Medicine woman. The attempt will be made to describe every possible aspect and facet of her role as Medicine woman and to consider her social position and cultural meaning in the context of contemporary Comanche society. It is hoped that the method of presentation employed in this book will enable the reader not only to understand how a Comanche Medicine woman performs the prescribed behavior and ritual of her role, her attitudes toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society but also to gain insight into the personality and character of the woman who is the last surviving Comanche eagle doctor.

Supernaturalism is often an extremely difficult area of culture for the ethnographer to approach with any degree of depth or intimacy. This situation becomes exaggerated, as in the case of the Comanches, when certain supernaturalistic institutions are considered by the members of the culture as final bulwarks of traditional values, or last vestiges of a "golden era." When these institutions are of a kind to elicit negative responses from the dominant culture in a situation of

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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necessary since so much of the material upon which this study was based came from a single informant. The particular relationship which I experienced with Sanapia doubtless colored the kinds of information which I obtained from her.

There was both an age and a sex difference between Sanapia and me, besides the obvious cultural differences. The rapidity with which she adopted me into her household was as cumbersome as it was helpful, for by this stroke I lost many of the advantages which formalized interviewing can lend, while gaining the advantages of confidences and a relative invisibility. She adopted me as her son and in so doing promoted an imbalance in our relationship in which she was in the position to demand more of me than I was of her. This relationship gave me the opportunity to gather much information concerning her attitudes and sentiments relating to her self-concept and her view of herself in relation to Comanche society as a whole, while it was more difficult to gather those kinds of data dealing with the more overt and obvious aspects of her role. She seemed to feel that by the simple fact of adopting me I would know all the necessary premises, and she would react irritably when I would question her on those subjects about which she felt I already knew. Also, by being classified as a "young son," *tuiβitsi*, I was expected to interact more with her sons, grandson, and nephews and to maintain a respect–distance from Sanapia.

The sex difference was not as important as the age difference since Sanapia,

Sanapia and the author.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Conclusion

Lack of Comparable Material

121 MANY OF THE PROBLEMS in evaluating the material presented in this book stem from the fact that there is little Comanche information with which to compare it. The information contained in Kardiner's (1945) discussion of Comanche culture is based on data supplied largely by Ralph Linton which he gathered with the Santa Fe group in 1933. Wallace and Hoebel's (1952) book is almost totally based on material obtained in 1933 by this same group. Therefore, practically all that is known of Comanche ethnography is based on the circumstances of several months in 1933. A further problem is that Sanapia, in her role as eagle doctor, is unique in contemporary Comanche society. There is no one with whom to compare her. This also means that there is no way to check the information which Sanapia supplied, except so far as it was the type which could be verified by other Comanches. Consistency in her responses to the same questions asked at various times and her desire that this study act as the "book of her Medicine way" are the only indications which can be suggested to support the high probability of her veracity in materials which could not be otherwise checked.

Inconsistencies

128 The inconsistencies between data presented by Sanapia and the materials presented by the authors who have written on Comanche notions of power, magic, and religion have been noted in the body of the text. Since any conclusions based on these differences would necessarily be spurious, I will not introduce them again in conclusion. It is enough to say that Sanapia's interpretation of her relation to the supernatural is consistent to her and to other Comanches. It would be futile and improper to discuss whether she is "right" or whether Wallace, Hoebel, and Kardiner are "right."

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

UNCLE SIM'S TRADING STORE

114 SINCE THE PEOPLE WHO SETTLED in the trade area where my father established his trading store came from just about every state and territory, their tastes and needs were as varied as their background. He located in old Faxon, that had started out as Slogan, in Comanche County, Oklahoma Territory. This was about two miles northwest of the present town of Faxon. The time was March, 1902, following the opening of the country the fall before.

000 Dad had no previous experience in the mercantile business. He had enjoyed several prosperous years on our farm in Marshall County, Kansas. But now he had sold his farm at an unheard-of price and was seeking two things: cheap land that would grow in value, and an easier way than farming for an old man to make a living.

We hauled the lumber for the store building from Lawton, about twenty miles to the northeast. The building's dimensions were about twenty by sixty feet, and it was of box-type construction. It was sealed, had a shingle roof, and sat on stone piers at four-foot intervals. I think the best recommendation for our construction is that these many years later it is still in use. We later moved it five miles overland to the town of Chattanooga. It stands on the main street, the oldest building in the town. I confess that it is showing its age.

Having no preconceived idea about what he should stock or ex-

/Pp. 1-15 not processed--Analyst/

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

THE LOST ONES

WHEN WE WENT into the Comanche country in the spring of 1902, it was not only a new country but a new way of life to me, a fourteen-year-old Kansas farm boy. The people I met, homesteaders or home-seekers, came from nearly every state in the Union, as well as from the Indian Nations. Ringed about us were Comanche families, camped rather than living on their allotments.

It was the Comanches, of course, who made the greatest impression on me. Almost as soon as Dad got his trading store opened, we started having an Indian trade. It just seemed to happen. We made no conscious effort to attract the Indians and wouldn't have known how had we wanted to try.

Mother bought our opening stock of dry goods, and she continued to do the buying as long as we ran the store. A few bolts of bright colors, in both calico and gingham, together with matching cotton braid, possibly proved an attraction to the Indian women at the start. Then too, Dad and Mother had the theory that we should treat everyone with the same degree of courtesy. These two things were the only concessions, if they were concessions, you could say we made.

Another thing that probably helped was that a missionary who ran a mission back to the northeast on Blue Beaver Creek made a check, unbeknownst to us, of the prices we charged to the white and

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas, or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1878, had been the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those ranging in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians the Carlisle group.

These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

POLYGAMY IN COMANCHE COUNTRY

000 MY CURIOSITY concerning polygamy had been thoroughly honed for some two years before I learned that our family was going to the Comanche country. For lack of other reading material, I was reading the newspapers from front to back at a very early age. The *Kansas City Star* published a weekly *Star* and a weekly *Journal*. (The R.F.D. was still a couple of years away, and living in the country as we did there was no object in our taking a daily newspaper.)

It seemed that a man had been elected to the U.S. Senate who because of his religious connections was suspected of having more than one wife. Both the *Star* and the *Journal* gave a great deal of space to the possibility that we had an actual practicing polygamist in the Senate. Likewise both papers carried a column or two, each issue, of comments by the readers. Polygamy was entirely new to me, and I read every word of the articles and the comments from readers. The slant of both articles and letters was strictly antipolygamy. They uniformly drew a picture of something that was seen as soul-destroying and reprehensible.

● 114 This storm had scarcely run its course before the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche country caught my interest, as my parents planned to move there. Now I was searching the papers for every mention of the Indian country. Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some sort about him in nearly every issue.

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches practiced polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattlemen, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area.

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the white people actually moved in and set up local government on a county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law.

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and respected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the 701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of arrows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo, so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a strategic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1]

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the succeeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche.

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

168 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 148.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1848 in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

DYEING, SPINNING AND WEAVING, BY THE CAMANCHES, NAVAJOES, AND OTHER INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.[1]

By J. Henry Peters.

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Thomas Ewbank, Esq.,

Dear Sir: Fully appreciating the heartiness and zeal, with which you direct your researches into the various branches of inquiry and learning connected with your important bureau, I with great pleasure, but with diffidence, accede to your request, and give you such information with regard to the manufactures of wool and cotton, as I have acquired in my rambles among our western Indians; and more especially, among the Camanches, Navajoes, and Apaches of western Texas and southern New Mexico. I have not been further west than Paso del Norte, in Texas, nor further north than Sonora, in New Mexico, and the surrounding county.

It is known to every observing traveler in those parts of our country — now no longer remote — that the brilliancy and durability of the various shades of primitive colors, and the few semi-colors that those Indians dye their wool in, are probably not equalled by the learned and scientific chemists of Europe, and our own country — an important fact, that seems not to have excited the curiosity of our otherwise enquiring countrymen. Should I be able, through your instrumentality, to bring to the public notice, such facts as will lead to enquiry and investigation, I should consider myself as having contributed somewhat to our national advancement in one branch of the arts at least, and that one of the most important.

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The Camanche, Navajoe, and Apache Indians, present the curious spectacle of marauding bands of well mounted men; seemingly always committing predatory incursions upon their civilized neighbors, the Texans and Mexicans, apparently con-

[1] Reprinted from the *Report of the U. S. Commission of Patents*, for 1850, part 1.

[p. 352]
[pp 1- 351 not processed]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6 ●

stantly on the alert for evil, and yet, possessing great skill in the more peaceful and benevolent habits of the herdsman and shepherd.

The depredations of the immense number of sheep, almost daily chronicled in our gazettes, are not made to appease hunger only; but to add to the already immense flocks that overspread, as I have been told by them, the region of country lying west of the Sierra Madre, and east of California.

In the spring and summer of 1843, in company with an old friend — one of the Creeks who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, soon after the treaty with them in 1832 — I traveled westward. My guide and companion had acquired a good knowledge of the language and habits of the Camanches, Navajoes and Apaches, and had probably not altogether abstained from joining them occasionally in their irruptions upon the settlements of their timid neighbors of Chihuahua and Sonoro. I found him "as one having authority," and of course, very useful, both in the protection he afforded me, and the information he enabled me to acquire.

Among the first objects of interest to me, next to the matchless feats of horsemanship they perform, and which have so often been written of — was the number and variety of articles wrought by them, both useful and ornamental, and which might well vie with the skill of more civilized artizans. Among these were the beautiful fabrics composed of wool, and a kind of grass cloth, and some few of cotton. The object, however, of greatest interest to me, was the art of imparting to wool, etc., the beautiful colors I had often before admired, and to this I gave most attention. Like other Indians, I found them unwilling to impart knowledge voluntarily, and I had in my previous and long intercourse with the western tribes, early learned not to make inquiries that might excite their special attention to my designs. Our Indians are not disposed to impart to their white brethren, unless their citizens, any thing that might be useful out of their own country, in which particular, they are not unlike the Chinese, so that with the exceptions of their modes of dyeing and spinning, I will not now attempt to give you any certain account. The information